

TABLE II/8
ENROLMENT IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS OF THE
ANGLICAN MISSION IN THE NORTHERN
DISTRICT

(Source: Department of Education, Popondetta)

	1966	1967 (Est.)
Preparatory Classes	1,775	1,845
Standard 1	1,290	1,307
Standard 2	1,563	1,581
Standard 3	1,278	1,298
Standard 4	1,275	1,310
Standard 5	693	708
Standard 6	488	498
Total	8,362	8,547

Note: Some schools offered classes up to Standard 2, some up to Standard 3, some up to Standard 4, while only a few schools offered classes beyond that level. Children unable to obtain transfers to schools offering classes at a higher level might stay at school for a year or more after finishing the highest available grade. This explains the unusual statistical pattern.

development. By 1967 two important moves had been made: the arterial road between Buna and Kokoda was being rebuilt and linked to the main coffee-producing villages by a system of access roads, built with the assistance of taxes raised in villages.

The educational services have not, so far, been very closely integrated with economic development goals. Many of the schools in the Northern District are conducted by the Mission. While the objectives of many of the Mission schools are still primarily religious, and the teaching staff has only rudimentary training, some of them do prepare students for further education at the secondary level, and provide recruits for skilled occupations. The Sasembata school attended by Sivepe children falls within that category. Chances of passing a qualifying examination for secondary schooling are good and from that point adequate financial assistance is usually available to students. Villages such as Hohorita and Inonda, lacking such opportunities, and having access to only two or three years of elementary schooling, cannot hope to have any but the brightest students advance to secondary education. As the language of instruction is English in all schools, those who do not advance beyond elementary grades do not become acquainted with concepts relevant to development objectives.¹²

Local Government Council. The Higaturu Local Government Council, formed in 1956, serves about 15,000 Orokaiva, comprising the Popondetta, Sohe-Popondetta and Saiho census divisions. In 1966 the main activities of the

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- 222 4 Orokaiva: *tauga*; botanical: *cycas media*; Orokaiva: *puga*; botanical: *terminalia okaria*. There are two varieties of breadfruit, called *oga* and *eumba*. They are both somewhat unusual but I failed, in spite of sending samples, to obtain identifications.
- 241 5 Details of garden production are given in Table II/3. Rainfall at Sivepe and Inonda is shown in Rimoldi 1966:109; Crocombe and Hogbin 1963:100.
- 342 6 A plan of a contemporary Orokaiva house is shown in Fig. 3. Recent changes in house design, house construction and domestic amenities are summarised in Table II/4.
- 462 7 See Tables II/5 and II/6. Williams' data are taken from an unpublished manuscript and appeared first in Schwimmer 1969:226. I have discussed the Orokaiva division of labour in more detail in Schwimmer 1969: 145-50 and explained the apparent discrepancies between Williams' table and Waddell's and Krinks' statistics.
- 439 8 Crocombe and Hogbin (1963) provide a list of prices prevailing in this trade. They report that there is still some trade in shell ornaments from the coast and in feathers for head dresses from the mountains. Informants at Eroro, on the coast near Buna, gave me details of their traditional trade with Managalasi of the nearby mountains. A Sivepe man who has hunting rights to land near Ajoro goes there to hunt birds and sell the feathers. His chances of finding any of the more valuable birds near Sivepe are remote. The difference in Sivepe and Inonda patterns (i.e. the foothills and the alluvial plains) appears from the data in Table II/7. It will be seen that Sivepe stock is to a far greater extent inherited, whereas Inonda stock is to a far greater extent acquired through brideprice (value \$13), barter (value \$21.60) and other exchanges (value \$13.70).
- 439 9 Dr. Waddell has provided a detailed statistical table of the geographical distribution of subsistence produce (Waddell and Krinks 1968:218). This table provides clear and detailed information on the geographical range of the Sivepe exchange network. A full descriptive account may be found in Schwimmer 1969: 41-69.
- 438 10 An interesting picture of this period of Orokaiva history is drawn in Beaver, 1916.
- 437 11 Full information on these cults will be found in Chinnery and Haddon (1917) and Williams (1928). It has escaped previous commentators that Bia, who started the taro cult, was employed for some years by Monckton, and participated in various punitive enterprises with an alacrity most pleasing to his master. He was described in Monckton's books in rather revealing detail (e.g. 1921: 185, 268, 269, 295, 308; 1922: 10, 13, 65, 136, 172, 214, 216). For the present relationship between the Orokaiva and the missions, see Schwimmer 1969: 123-33.
- 871 12 The general subject of Orokaiva economic development since 1951 is very fully covered in numerous bulletins published by the New Guinea Research Unit from 1963 to the present, and also in Schwimmer 1969. A general indication of the investments in socio-economic development is given by a table of public expenditure in the territory of Papua for the years ended 30 June 1961 to 1965 (Commonwealth of Australia: *Annual Report of the Territory of Papua for the period 1 July 1964 to 30 June 1965*, 179). The growing emphasis on educational services is perhaps the most notable aspect. Table II/8 indicates the pattern of school attendance. Table II/9 summarises the activities of the Higaturu Local Government Council; roads, water supplies and clinics are perhaps the projects most relevant to development.
- 872 13 The three villages have been sketched in figures 4, 5 and 6. Education and occupational experience at Sivepe and Hohorita are analysed in Tables II/10 and II/11.

Appendix B

The Ombi-Tara environment and population

131 Ombi village is in the Kokoda sub-district about twenty-seven
[133] miles from Popondetta along the main Popondetta-Kokoda road. It
is situated on top of a plateau up a steep escarpment, about 250
yards from the main road. Tara is about two miles from Ombi and
straddles the access road which runs through the converted land
occupying part of two of the blocks. It was previously about two
miles further away and was moved to its present site in 1964 after
survey of the land to be converted was under way.

133 The Kumusi River flows close to the Popondetta-Kokoda road,
[361] about four hundred yards from Ombi village. Ombi village was
formerly sited next to the river but was moved to its present
higher location in about 1957, reportedly to escape the mosquitoes.

871 The nearest school is conducted by the Administration at Ajeka,
972 about two miles away. Most children of the appropriate age attend
school daily. Several of the older children board at schools in
[368] Popondetta while some children do not attend school at all.

366 The nearest trade store is at Ajeka but this is seldom open,
438 and most purchases are made from the store operated by a European
439 planter at Awala, a distance of seven miles. Clothing and larger
items are purchased in Popondetta.

134 The Ombi-Tara lands are part of the Higatura land system which
contains a considerable proportion of good land with reasonably
fertile soils, suitable for many arable or tree crops as well as
pasture.¹

132 The most important features of the climate are the generally
137 heavy rainfall, and the almost uniformly high temperatures and
humidities throughout the year. Rainfall ranges from 120 to 150
inches annually and may well be greater in the higher areas, includ-
ing Ombi-Tara. These climatic features are reflected in abundant
plant growth. At Ombi-Tara rainforest covers much of the surround-
ing land, which is marked by a series of steep ridges.

¹ See C.S.I.R.O. 1964.

657 Sivepe, as it happens, was one of the villages in which the plan
361 was pioneered.

Finally, I should refer briefly to communications. One
[491] general effect of the eruption was a shifting of villages to the
side of jeep roads, as Belshaw also mentioned. The administration
favoured this trend which greatly facilitated patrolling the
villages. The Orokaiva always seem to have a liking for the
Australian-built roads; Monckton already refers to their fondness
for travelling over it and explains it gave a sense of security
against possible attack by hostile tribes. Though this can hardly
be the reason today, the liking remains. Over the last few years,
the roads have begun to yield economic and practical advantage:
trucks collecting coffee visit the villages and occasionally
people can pick up rides from passing vehicles. Speed of travel
is also improved for pedestrians. I shall discuss ideological
aspects of this liking later.

872 The accessibility of facilities has also improved since
797 the eruption. Sivepe children now all go to the school at the
Sasembata mission station which teaches up to Standard 6. Inonda
children were first introduced to schooling after the eruption
when the Seva people joined them accompanied by a mission teacher.
[368] After this mission teacher retired, Inonda was dependent on a
school at Hohota. Only a few children went to this school because
it was six miles away, across a deep river, but today, after
the building of a new road and a bridge, and the latest shift of
Inonda village, this distance has been reduced to about three
miles and school attendance is regular.

368 The eruption changes the centre of gravity of the district.
731 The pre-eruption settlements of Higaturu and Sangara contained all
governmental and mission facilities, including the hospital and
the schooling past Standard 2. Sivepe's link with these facilities
was by a bush track running through Isivita. Today, Popondetta is
the centre, but the hospital is at Saiho, the senior college near
Agenahambo, the Local Government Council in the new Higaturu, near
[491] Agenahambo. Thus the main road to Popondetta, now greatly improved,
has become the main artery. Nonetheless, for those who have to
walk, the bush tracks from Sivepe to Saiho, Awala and Agenahambo
are still important thoroughfares used by many dozen people every
day.

Section 4: Resources

423 I have already referred to the main resource, owned by the
311 Orokaiva, which is their land. The Sivepe people own only about
480 acres, almost entirely gardening land, and very little of
their land is in virgin bush. This small area is useful for certain

871 until the end of Standard 4, but that schooling beyond that level
797 is taken by a far smaller number. A great many mission schools teach
only up to Standard 4, so that those who wish to proceed further have
to attend a boarding establishment.

872 Sivepe was fortunate in that the nearby Sasembata mission
877 school conducted classes to the end of Standard 6. This was a compara-
tively recent development; when the school was reopened after the
eruption, it still went no further than Standard 4. Most pupils will
stay at the local school for the full programme, but some who fail
the examinations at the end of Standard 5 drop out. Sasembata School
has boarding facilities for students from other mission schools who
have to leave home to get education after Standard 4. These are
accommodated in dormitories built of bush materials on the mission
station.

872 Inonda was less favourably placed. A school opened at Sivepe
in 1952 by a Seva mission teacher displaced by the eruption, was closed
down in 1959. Today, the nearest school, at Hohota, three miles away,
teaches only up to Standard 2. Anyone proceeding beyond that level
had to board at Popondetta for further schooling. In 1967, there was
one Inonda boy receiving education in Standard 4 at the Popondetta
primary school. There were no children at Inonda who had left school
at Standard 2 and were hanging about at home; it will be interesting
to know how many of the seven children at present in Standard 2 will
go to Popondetta next year.

873 Post-primary schooling is available at four institutions in the
Northern District (two government, two mission) with a total attendance
of 719, but neither Sivepe nor Inonda had students there in 1966-67.
At levels above Standard 4, the education system tends to become
increasingly selective, with tough examinations to reduce the number
of those who take up boarding places at secondary school facilities.
External examinations are set for students completing Form II (i.e.,
Standard 9), Form III and Form IV. For the most successful, university
and other advanced training is available; those who have completed
Standard 7 or higher can enter teacher training schools. Two of the
[874] post-primary schools in the Northern District are technical schools
which train apprentices. Training for nurses is not yet available in
the district, except with the mission, which issues no diplomas.

871 Education in most of the Northern District is not yet compulsory,
even though legislation exists to enable the government to declare
school attendance compulsory in specified areas. Popondetta has been
declared an area of compulsory education. It is true, as the government
claims, that even where schooling is voluntary, virtually all children
enroll and attend from the age of five. The length of attendance
depends on the type of education available in various areas; thus, it
would generally be longer in Sivepe than in Inonda.

The curriculum, both in the government and mission schools,
is very highly standardised and mission education is of necessity
dominated by the need to prepare students for government examinations.

875 training schools which prepared students for examinations for these
657 certificates.

875 Though many men with teacher's certificates and advanced
797 medical training take up positions with the government, where salaries
are far higher, there is still a considerable inflow of qualified
Papua into the mission ranks. One reason for this may perhaps be
found in the sketch I gave earlier in this chapter of a typical mission
station settlement. The educated man who takes up a job with the
mission receives his reward, not only in the satisfaction of religious
service and the approbation of the mission towards which he is usually
obliged for his education, but also an assured social status in a
community in which he can feel thoroughly at home and can set up the
type of social relationships to which he is accustomed. A government
position on the other hand tends to isolate and detribalise teachers
and hospital workers and thus be less satisfying socially.

872 Finally, it should be stressed that the mission is responsible
873 for the education of Papua's educational élite. Martyrs School, once
built at Sangara where it was destroyed by the eruption, and now
established just outside Aenahambo, prides itself on a higher academic
standard than any of the other secondary schools of the Northern
District. It is able to choose the most proficient of the products
of the primary school system, not only in the Northern District, but
in the whole of Papua. One man in Sivepe and one in Inonda had been
to this school but neither had continued to the secondary Forms. But
the church-educated élite will dominate the Northern District for
some years to come, until the graduates from the new University of
Papua New Guinea will take over this status.

TABLE 14

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(231) problem—and one which the Orokaiva will not be equipped to solve when stocks of these animals are eventually restored. It seems fair to prophesy that as the people become habituated to living in the shadow of the volcano, many of them will quietly "hive off" from the present concentrations and go their familiar economic way. Alternatively, official opposition to this trend could produce growing tensions, including anti-Government hostility.

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(198) 5. Other factors can be noted congruent with the above points. Some individuals are said to fear that in larger communities they will face more extensive demands for village maintenance and other Government and Mission needs than under the old patterns of settlement. Belshaw points to a complication of the labor situation in the resettlement areas due to a request by the Mission that its adherents devote some time to building new Mission stations in the area. As indices of the increasing normality of life, there is some revival of dancing and music, as well as keen sports interest.

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361 On the basis of such factors, the writer ventured to present to the Administrator and a group of his top officials a view opposed to a compulsive concentration policy. He suggested, instead, that three or four main "centers of attraction" be developed outside the danger zone and on the main road, corresponding to the principal ethnic concentrations (Sangara, Isivita, Wasida). Here would be located sub-district offices, Government boarding schools, medical aid posts, community center houses, experimental garden plots, and other facilities. Housing space could be made available to those desiring to settle around such a center voluntarily and try out more concentrated and sedentary living. The Mission could also use such centers for their stations if it wished. The writer also recommended cutting a series of crossroads more or less at right angles to the main road, and locating each "center of attraction" at a main crossroad point. These secondary roads would serve to draw settlement away from the overcrowded chain of villages that have developed along the one main road. This plan would enable those people who do not wish to be concentrated to scatter out in a wider pattern of dispersal for garden development; it would offer quick routes of escape on foot or in vehicles in case of the threat of further eruptions, ready access for government welfare services, and for transporting commercial crops to market. The writer has subsequently been informed that these proposals in general correspond with the policy which was officially adopted—crossroads have been cut and government centers and facilities have been built up at three key points.

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1997 The second problem referred to earlier, namely the delicate one of Government versus Mission responsibilities, will be discussed only briefly. The Mission teachers claim that the great majority of the mountain Orokaiva are adherents: those remaining outside the church do so by conscious choice. In the wake of the eruption the Anglican authorities sent in a very active, young Bishop who was familiar with the people, to take charge in place of the resident white staff killed at Sangara. Mission medical workers took over some of the important health responsibilities, including a Mission hospital at Oro Bay. "Native" Papuan Mission teachers started elementary vernacular schooling in the camps.

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This was in accordance with the official policy of the Territory that mission bodies shall normally handle at least the first four years of "village" level schooling. In such a major center as Ilimo, however, the question arose as to whether Government should step in to provide more adequate schooling facilities as part of its "community development" program. This was complicated by the fact that children of non-adherents had to come under the Mission teachers if they were to get schooling. The writer was told that in the morning these teachers went through the camp with switches to get children to school. Another potential conflict was foreshadowed at the time of the writer's visit by the Mission's decision to send in agricultural workers in the face of the active program of rehabilitation by Government technical officers.

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The writer gave it as his opinion that the Government should not abrogate its responsibilities in essential matters of rehabilitation, that it should insist on coordination rather than rivalry. It is understood that this view has been made policy, even in the face of the great sensitivity of Government in such delicate relationships that could reflect back in the form of criticism by religious groups in the metropolitan country. Government schools have been opened and the people are free to choose between them and the Mission institutions. Official medical services have become well organized. It will undoubtedly take time to unravel the question of the Mission role in agriculture, particularly as it is bound up with the religiously-oriented cooperative movement. There could be further new cults centered upon gardening and, as with various other post-war movements in the New Guinea area, these could be either pro- or anti-Government or Mission or both.¹⁰

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The possibility of transforming Orokaiva agriculture from the shifting to a sedentary basis deserves a special final word. A recent report of the Director of Agriculture stresses this problem as of prime importance to the development of

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10. Though extensive materials exist in unpublished official reports on post-war New Guinea cults (e.g., the Paliau movement in Manus, the Yali cult in Madang, the Tomu Kaba cult in the Purari delta) very little has been published. Available references are Belshaw, C.S., "The Significance of Modern Cults in Melanesian Development," *The Australian Outlook*, 4, 2, pp. 116-125 (1950); de Bruyn, J.V., "The Manus Cult of Blak," *South Pacific* (Journal of the Australian School of Pacific Administration, Sydney), 3, 1, pp. 1-10 (1950); Guisart, J., "Cargo Cults and Political Evolution in Melanesia," *South Pacific*, 3, 7, pp. 123-129 (1951); United Nations Mission, *Report of Visiting Mission, 1950* section on Paliau movement, reproduced in *South Pacific*, 4, pp. 207-208 (1950). A brief analysis of modern cults is given in Keesing, "Research Opportunities in New Guinea," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, 8, 2 (Summer, 1952).